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THE  
TRUE PRINCIPLES  
OF THE  
REVOLUTION

REVIVED and ASSERTED.

Being a DEFENCE of the  
Present Administration.

In a LETTER to a FRIEND.

*Furor ne cæcus an rapit vis acrior?*

*An culpa? Responsum date.*

*Tacent.*————

Horat.

—— *Iram atque animosa crimine sumunt.*

Juvenal.

L O N D O N :

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THE  
TRUE PRINCIPLES  
OF THE  
REVOLUTION, &c.

S I R,

**I** Will make no Apology for doing what I could not excuse myself for neglecting: *viz.* for writing to you upon the Subject of our last Evening's Conference. I am never more concerned, than when I see Men of Probity influenced by wrong Sentiments, and tied to a Party which I know they would abhor, if they saw into its real Designs, and were apprized upon what Principles and Motives it hath all along acted. Pardon me for saying, that it is in this Light I look upon you at present: The View is not unfriendly, for by paying a Compliment to your Integrity, I do not mean to derogate from your Understanding. Though the latter may have led you into an Error, no Impeachment lies against the former, whilst you follow it sincerely ;

cerely ; nor do I impute any Defect to this, whilst I charge your Error to those indirect Methods which have been used to obscure and confound Truth.

If I were not sincere in what I say, I should not be moved with any thing it was in your Power to say upon the Subject of our Conversation ; the same Reflections coming from the Mouths of any of those sorry Creatures, whom Ignorance, Disappointment, or Jacobitism, have made factious and clamorous, would raise no other Resentment in me, than what might be expressed by a Look of silent Disdain. And when I honestly own to you, that I did not think there had been a single Man in the Nation (in the same Rank with you for Probity and Understanding) who in good earnest condemned the Administration, I cannot but hope that what I now say will be an availing Motive to you to re-examine your own Sentiments, to see whether you have not been misled by false Informations, to take Clamour for Argument, and impudent Affeuerations for Facts.

Allow me to repeat what you may remember I intimated then : That Gentlemen in the Country often form their Judgments without any, at least proper and sufficient, Evidence in the Cases we were upon ; their Informations are all at second or third hand, and generally either lose or double their  
Weight

Weight before they come to you: so that no Man can give ear to them, much less depend upon them, without exposing himself to the Censure of Credulity and Partiality. Nay, there seems to be something worse even than this in your Case. The Evidence on which you form your Opinions, is such as ought not to be called Evidence at all, because both Sides have not a fair Hearing, and one, for the most part, none at all; for I could observe, whilst I was among you, that all your News-papers bore the Names of such as I knew to be Retailers to the Antiministerial Faction, and that the Pamphlets handed about with exceeding Industry and Applause, were the Productions of such as boasted themselves the Leaders of the Gang. Where therefore Men swallow Loads of Poison, without the Application of proper Antidotes, it is no wonder that their Constitutions are vitiated, and their Powers languid and diseased.

What therefore thus opened up the Cause, stopped my Amazement, when I observed to what a prodigious Pitch the Passions of People in those Parts were wrought up: For had the entire Liberties and Properties of the Nation been actually bargained for and sold to a foreign Power, ready at hand to invade and take possession of them, the Flame could scarce have been greater, nor the Resent-

ment



ment expressed against the Ministry and Court-Measures more violent : And yet were these same People in a Temper and Capacity fitted to reflect on their real Circumstances, and compare them with the Condition of their Ancestors for a Century or two past, they would hug and think themselves blessed, rejoice in the Advantages of their present State, and extol the Administration under which they were so happy. For I will lay it down here as a Maxim from which I will never depart, because I have such Weight of Evidence and Argument to support it, “ That  
 “ our Constitution is at this time upon the  
 “ same footing on which the Revolution left  
 “ it. The Prerogative has gain’d nothing,  
 “ the People have lost nothing : There is the  
 “ same Balance, Order and Harmony be-  
 “ twixt the Powers which compose it, that  
 “ subsisted then ; so that if any thing be  
 “ wrong, they are not our present Gover-  
 “ nors, but former ones, who are to blame.”  
 You cannot therefore reasonably bring a Charge for Repairs, till you shew what hath been impaired, wasted, or suffered to decay : And if the Prerogative hath made no Advances, that bear hard on the Rights of Parliament, or the Privileges of the Community, you will not, I presume, say, that there is any thing faulty in preserving the antient Bounds distinct and entire.

I have

I have here, Sir, led you into a wide Field of Discourse, where the Champions on the other Side have long vaunted and flourished, in which I nevertheless hope to acquit myself to the Satisfaction of all impartial By-standers, and carry off the Honour of the Day. But before we come to close Engagement, take an Abstract or Summary of the Facts, upon which my Assertion is founded ; for Facts are strong Proofs, stubborn Things, that cannot be bended to serve any Purposes but such as are just and true.

Fleets and Armies are raised, paid and supported in the very same manner that they were just after the Revolution, and all Taxes raised and levied in the same method ; our Forts, Castles and Garrisons, are all in the Hands of *Englishmen* and Protestants ; the Administration of Justice goes on in its usual Course ; our Judges hold their Places for Life ; the *Habeas Corpus* Act is in full force, and hath full Effect upon every Occasion ; Dissenters are tolerated ; the Established Religion is encouraged, prospers and spreads ; the Press is open and free to every one who pleases to have recourse to it ; the Freedom of Elections and Debate ( which is all the Independency the Parliament can claim ) are both secure ; all things are determined by common Suffrage and Consent ; Petitions are  
heard,

heard, and where the Allegations are just, the Petitioner redressed; the King is content with the Execution of the Laws; he does nothing without his Parliament, and the Parliament proposes nothing to which he refuses his Assent.

If these things, Sir, be true, and these are the vital Parts and Essentials of our Constitution, and they are all found, in Vigour and in Health, then I am right in my Assertion, and it will be no hard matter to justify the Administration.

What I say is liable but to one possible Objection, which borrows all its Credit from a Distinction (which tho' artfully laid, is wholly imaginary) between the Government and the Constitution. Now if you can suppose a real Difference between these two, and apprehend them at variance, unequally balanced and struggling for Superiority, I will for the present allow, that it carries with it some Plausibility: For if they mean quite different things, with distinct irreconcilable Interests, and the one cannot be preserved without the Downfall and Destruction of the other, it will not be long a Question with any true *Briton* which Side he should take, and what Party to espouse. I would myself, Sir, chuse to relinquish the Government, and adhere to the Constitution, and be the Friend  
of



of this, even at the Risque of declaring myself the Enemy of the other.

A late celebrated \* Treatise on Politicks, which boasts an Author of a distinguished Capacity, (and who might have maintained a very eminent Rank in his Country, but for some moral Defects which unqualified him for his Prince's Confidence or his Country's Service) set out with this Distinction, and proceeded upon it all along. Admitting it just, his Arguments deserve our Attention; but if not, all that He, and the whole *Junto* of Antiministerial Scriblers have urged, is by their own Confession idle and impertinent Prate, and what the Prince, his Minister or Adherents, are not one jot more concerned in than you or I, or any other indifferent Person.

To make it good; we are told, † That it was not from what was actually done, agreed and established at the Revolution, that we are to take our Idea of the Constitution, but from certain Schemes, Purposes, and Ends, which he is for supposing were intended by it; for which however he acknowledges no provision was made at the Revolution, and yet thinks every Man in his Rank, especially

\* Differtation on Parties.

† Ibid. Dedication.

the Ministry, obliged to pursue these Ends till they are effectually obtained.

Now, Sir, I want to be informed by what Evidence it can be made appear, that any thing was designed or intended by the Revolution, for which no provision was made at the Revolution : The Assertion, in my Apprehension, confutes itself ; for I don't see how any Man can get rid of the Consequence, putting it thus, Such and such Points had no provision made for them at the Revolution, therefore they were not intended by the Revolution : And if so ; then Men may be true to Revolution Principles, without ever consenting to such Measures, as this Author and others after him, think necessary to obtain those Ends.

To say that the Ends proposed, and here under question, might have been in the View and Intention of any certain Set or Party of Men who joined in bringing about the Revolution, (though even this could not be proved) is no Evidence ; for it is from what was the declared Sense and acknowledged View of the whole Nation, that we are to take our Judgment in this Case ; and that, I take it, is only to be known from the publick Acts and Votes, which passed upon that Occasion : For as several Parties of very different Sentiments, (and who possibly might have

have had very different Views) undoubtedly conspired at that time of common Danger, to bring about that great and ever memorable Event; if the private Sentiments or even declared ones of any one Set or Party, were to be called the Design and End proposed by the whole; Ends and Views widely different from what this Writer alledges were intended by the Revolution might be set up and vindicated, with equal Reason and Strength of Argument.

But the Point, wherein I differ essentially and totally from this whole Class of Writers, is this, That I cannot give into their Distinction, for I think the Constitution and Government *One* and the *Same*, and that they cannot, nor ought not to be separated so much as in Idea; and that all the Ends proposed or intended by the Revolution, were actually carried into Execution at that time. Sir, I say, a Distinction between our Government and Constitution, is what ought not, cannot be admitted by any sound Reasoning, being a Thing without any foundation in fact, a mere Chimera, that never subsisted any where but in the teeming Imagination of this Author: For, Sir, the Constitution of any State or Nation is only to be known from considering the Form of Government obtaining there, either by settled



and agreed Custom, or by Acts and Statutes explaining and confirming it ; because, till some certain Form of Government is established, there is no such thing as Constitution at all. Where Anarchy prevails, and all is confused and in disorder, there is no Society nor Community. Suppose now we were to enquire, what the Constitution of *France* is ? Whence must we take our Accounts, upon which we are to determine ? From the Form of Government settled and prevailing there, or from the Opinions of any particular Set of Men, declaring what they conceive it ought to be ? Say, *ex. gr.* the last exiled Members of the Parliament of *Paris* ? From the former surely.

If indeed the Claims of those Members were founded upon any antecedent Settlement or Compact made between King and People, which had never been reversed by any subsequent one, or nulled by any free Concessions of the People, then their Claims deserved a Hearing ; and when made out to the Satisfaction of unprejudiced Judges, ought to have been complied with : but if they were only grounded upon a Presumption, and disputable Allegations, ( as is the Case here ) that things would be better in the State proposed than in their present one, or were designed and intended at the last Settlement

tlement made in that Kingdom, then their Claims were too unreasonable to deserve so much as a Hearing ; unless it may be said to be reasonable, that of two Parties mutually consenting and bound by Compact, one should be discharged and set free from his Engagements, whenever he thinks he can make it appear, that it would be for his own, or the other's Interest to be so.

By considering then Constitution and Government as one and the same, (and how to make two of them for my Soul I cannot tell) whatever is against the Government is against the Constitution, and he that is the Enemy of the former cannot be the Friend of the latter ; (the Consequences of which Reasoning we shall see by and by) and of course the principal End and Intent of the Revolution must be judged of from that Form of Government which it left us in Possession of, and which we derive from it. Now our Government, we all know, consists of three Parts or Branches, King, Lords, and Commons ; all therefore that we have to do to come at an exact Knowledge of our Constitution, and to take neither more nor less into the Idea than ought to be in it, is to examine, and find out, how the Bounds and Limits of these three Branches were adjusted and settled at the Revolution, what Powers they were severally

severally invested with, and what Barriers were fixed to prevent an Encroachment of one upon the other. And if it be found (as I am confident it will) that the Powers and Limits of each have been preserved distinct, without Infraction or Usurpation; our Constitution is the same now that it was then; and the principal, nay all the Ends of the Revolution are undoubtedly ascertained and obtained.

But if you will credit some Accounts, the End proposed by the Revolution was, not to preserve our Constitution and Government upon its antient just Foundation, upon the Model it had all along stood, bating some short Interruptions, but to convey to the Representatives of the People a Power of destroying the former by altering the latter, of increasing the Powers and Privileges of the People, by clipping and abolishing the Rights of the Crown. I have read, Sir, all the Acts of that famous Convention in which Matters were fixed and agreed at the Revolution, all the publick Acts and Histories of the Times, and cannot find any one thing that would lead any Man to believe, that such an End was ever proposed, intended, or thought of, by the Majority of that Convention; and if any such are to be found in any of the Anecdotes of the Times, it is a Circumstance which no way concerns us.

The



The principal, the great, the only End of the Revolution was then to settle the Government upon its antient and proper Basis, which the Measures of a mad Bigot had almost destroyed, and to rescue our Religion and Liberties from the illegal Invasions he had made upon them. This seems to me all that our Ancestors then intended, for this plain Reason, because it was all that they did: I find no Traces, no Vestiges, of any Powers intended to be conferred on the People or their Representatives, which they were not supposed, by former Laws and Compacts made, to have been invested with before, nor any Appearance of any Plan concerted or proposed for augmenting the Powers and Privileges of Parliament at any after-period, or diminishing the known universally acknowledged Rights of the Crown. It does not appear that King *William* ever consented to bind himself or his Successors, or that it was ever asked or demanded of him to take upon him the Administration, and to govern in any other Manner than his Predecessors were always supposed to be bound, within Law, and according to Law: And there can be nothing more plain, than that the Government rolled on in the same old Track after his taking it upon him, that it either had, or should have gone on in before; only with  
this

this Difference, that he kept to his Engagements, and made the Laws the Measure and Rule of his Conduct, which could not be said of his Predecessors for some Ages.

In any other Sense of the Matter it will follow, that by the Revolution, King *William* was invested with Powers which it was the Design of the Revolution he should never use, or was to enjoy only for a time, till some wiser and more commodious Settlement should be thought of ; *i. e.* in short, he had Power given him, and no Power ; the Name of a King, but no more : He was henceforward such a Part of the Machine as gave some ornament to it, but no use ; for though the Declaration of Rights declared him King, and that the sole and full Exercise of the Royal Power should be in, and executed by him alone, yet there was no such thing meant or intended ; for still the End of the Revolution was, that as soon as any boisterous and ill-disposed Party in the State, should demand a Renunciation of the whole or any part of it from him, or his Successors, he and they were to look upon themselves as bound, upon the first Summons, to give it up, and never to use or exercise those Powers more.

However wild and absurd this may seem, yet it is the plain *English* of these Gentlemen's Scheme : But had such a Scheme ever  
been

been chalk'd out, and propos'd to King *William*, I am satisfi'd, that rather than have accepted the Crown upon such Terms, he would have gone back to his Dykes, and ( as he express'd himself upon another occasion ) died in the last of them ; and have left us to compleat our own Deliverance, by falling together by the Ears. For though he never attempted to influence the Debates of the Convention, yet he plainly enough intimated what his Resolution would have been, in case he had met with such a Proposal, when he declared, That he would rather go back, than accept of any Share in the Government, upon the Terms it was once propos'd to be offer'd to him.

What then King *William* thus received by free Consent of the People of *England*, he had undoubtedly a Right to maintain and support, and so as to transmit it down in the same Form and Manner to his Lawful Successors ; I mean the free and full Exercise of all those legal Powers which were invest'd in him by the Declaration of Rights : and since that Time, all the Struggles about Prerogative seem to me to have arisen, not from any Attempts on the Prince's Side to enlarge the Prerogative, but to the Attacks that have been made against it, with a View to wrest out of the Hands of our Kings those Powers

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which



which were vested in them by the Revolution, and which, as the Constitution still stands, they have an indisputable Right to hold and enjoy.

What passed at the Revolution has indeed left us a fair and full Proof of what the true Sense and Spirit of the Nation is, and what sort of Powers they deem to be inherent in themselves to prevent and remedy in all extraordinary Cases, any Evils and Dangers which threaten their Religion and Liberties. But I presume it will not be said by any considerate reasonable Man (though it hath been often insinuated in Terms too plain for any one to mistake their Meaning) that we are at present in that extraordinary Case. From what was transacted at that Period, Princes and Ministers too have a fair Warning given them, what they are to look for and expect who give just Occasion for the Application of such extraordinary Remedies: But even this was a Lesson, which I will presume to say, might have been learned before. It was the entire Purport of all that was transacted from 1641 to 1648; and had not the People in the first Transports of their Joy at the Restoration carried their Devotion to their Prince to so great an Excess, the Revolution had not been necessary to make it a Blessing,

Blessing, nor the Transactions of 1688 wanting to rectify the Mistakes of 1660.

If then the Revolution left the Boundaries of the three distinct Powers of the Legislature, without Alteration in their full Extent, as it found them ; if no new Concessions were made by King *William*, no new Compacts nor Engagements entered into with him, over and above what were usually supposed to have been obligatory on each Side before ; then the Consequence of my Argument is undeniably certain, and the Argument itself unanswerable : That the Ends of the Revolution are all already obtained, and that to secure our Constitution, nothing more is wanting, than to preserve the Limits of these three Powers distinguished in the same Manner, and the Balance between them equal and in due Poise.

Enough methinks has been said to expose the Fallacy of that boasted Argument ; but if it be so, that the Pen of a *Craftsman* only can convince you, I will here bring him before you, to vouch in a few Words the Truth of all I have said. \* “ The Friends of Liberty acknowledge, that a Balance of the Powers divided among the three Parts of the Legislature, is essential to our Constitution, and necessary to support it.” Now, Sir, if

\* Ibid. Letter X.

those Powers are known and acknowledged, the Balance may be fixed ; and if it is already fixed, it is possible, and proper, and just, that it should be preserved : either then these Powers are not settled, nor the Balance adjusted, and we have no Constitution ; or if they are, they are truly the Enemies of that Constitution, who endeavour by new Schemes, under the Notion of Amendments, to destroy and overturn the Balance. What this Author therefore concedes, is the whole of what I have been arguing for, and all that the Ministry or its Friends have at any Time laid Claim to : For it doth not appear that any thing hath yet been done on the Side of the Crown, to destroy that Balance, nor any thing which by any immediate Efficacy, or even in its remotest Consequences, seems to tend to its Destruction. What then, I pray you, is the proper Censure to be passed on those political Quacks, who are daily calling upon us to mend what hath suffered no Breach, and to repair Inclosures which are all standing, and in good order ?

If a Man should not only advise, but peremptorily demand of you to pull down your House, for no other reason than to prevent its mouldering and going to Decay by the Injuries of Time and Weather ; and another, whilst you were plump, vigorous, and sound, should



should confidently assure you, that those Symptoms threatned a mortal Atrophy, and to prevent this, would have the face to prescribe a Regimen, which in all Probability would throw you into a Fever, turn you delirious, or raise an Inflammation in your Bowels; it is easy to imagine what Respect you would think due to their Advice. The Folly of the former might perhaps raise in you Sentiments of Compassion, but the Knavery of the latter would undoubtedly provoke your Resentment, who under the Pretence of friendly and salutary Council should give such Proof of his intending your Ruin: And yet a Man's Head must be as weak even as some Men's Hearts are corrupt, who does not see, that the Prescriptions of these Constitutional Empiricks, have in them neither stronger Indications of Wisdom than the first, nor of Honesty than the last. It may be true what I have somewhere seen asserted in the Writings of a noted Physician, " That  
 " a Body in the highest Degree of Health,  
 " in full Strength and Vigour, is in the next  
 " Degree to a mortal Disease; as Fruits, in  
 " the last Degree of Maturation, are in the  
 " first of Putrefaction;" but however this be, let us not forget the Moral of that proverbial Saying, I was well, would be better, took Physick, and died. Let us do what we  
 can

can to preserve our Constitution, but not die for fear of dying. *Nec propter vitam, vivendi perdere Causas.*

Whilst Things are in a healthful flourishing State and Appearance, to put the Question whether the Constitution is not capable of being mended or altered for the better, is both improper and impertinent; and the only proper Question is, Whether any such Alterations as have been proposed, and would pass for Amendments with the Gentlemen who call for them, should be consented to, or allowed by his Majesty, his Ministry, or any true Friend of the Government? If I argue upon a true State of the Case, ( which you will hardly deny, after the Suffrage of such Authority as hath been just now laid before you ) we must resolve in the Negative: Nay, I will go farther, and take upon me to affirm, that upon this State of the Case, it is every Man's Duty to oppose any and every Motion, Proposition and Scheme, which tends to introduce any Change or Alteration in the Government, whatever plausible Pretexes may be invented to set off and recommend it; because no such can happen without destroying the Balance which at present subsists between the Powers that be; and when that is done, however, in the Opinion of some it might be mended, the Constitution would be

be destroyed, *i. e.* it would cease to be the Constitution that now is, and hath subsisted ever since the Revolution; nay, if you will believe some, ever since the Nation was inhabited, and which, bating a few Interruptions, hath travelled on to us in the same Road and Dress, through *Britons, Danes, Saxons and Normans.*

The manner in which I have here expressed myself may perhaps appear to you to want a little qualifying; for you will possibly object to me, that upon this footing no new Laws could ever be made, nor old ones repealed, however the State of the Nation might seem to require it; which would form a most slavish System, if Principles were admitted that would tie down all succeeding Generations to one settled and invariable Plan. But to prevent any Cavil or Surmise of this Nature, I desire you will understand me in what I have now said, as declaring only against such Innovations under the Notion of Amendments, as by disturbing the Balance, which now is, and was settled at the Revolution, would endanger the Constitution, which would undoubtedly be the Case, if any of the principal Springs or Wheel upon which the regular Motion of the whole Machine depends, were too much raised or lowered: Where this is neither attempted nor intended,

no



no prudent Man will argue against any Alterations, that carry in them a friendly Regard to the whole considered as one Body, and are called for and proposed with no other view than to rectify somewhat that is amiss and out of course, and seem calculated to preserve that just Tone, Temper and Harmony, that was established at the Revolution, and should for ever subsist between all the Parts and Members of it. For indeed, if ever any such extraordinary Case, as that which occasioned the Revolution, should again occur : If ever Popery and Tyranny should rise out of the Ashes under which they now lie buried almost extinct, then we are to call to mind the Lesson we have learned, and remember, that what hath been, may be, and ought to be : For when the chief Springs and Powers of the Constitution are broken and dissolved, the Right of resolving upon what Model to settle again undoubtedly reverts to the People ; but as no such Mischief threatens us in any Degree now, nor the least probable Prospect, that any thing like it can ever happen again, it can never be lawful to attempt, nor even to plead for any thing, that upon a fair and full Construction bears the Appearance of an Alteration. So that we are now ready to join Issue with the Enemies of the Administration ; for till it be proved,  
that

that more was intended by the Revolution than was done at the Revolution, or effected since, and that the Balance of Powers subsisting at that time in the State, hath been destroyed by their own Confession: “ \* Fac-  
 “ tious Designs may be imputed, and the  
 “ Name of Incendiary apply’d to those who  
 “ argue for obtaining more.”

If this Matter were to be debated by Divines, they would give the Argument another Turn; they would call upon us to remember the Nature and Obligations of Compacts, and press us with Arguments drawn from the Heads of Equity and Religion. And indeed, Sir, if A and B have mutually consented to a Covenant by free and unrestrained Choice, whilst neither was under any Awe, Terror, or Controul from the other: The Conditions of which on the Side of A are, that he will support and defend B in the Possession of all his known and acknowledged Rights, Privileges and Immunities, which were either supposed to belong to him by the Terms of any former Contract, or so declared by the Articles of the present one. And the Conditions on the part of B, that in Consideration of such Support and Defence, he shall pay certain Rents, Duties and Services, and to the utmost of his Power preserve A in the free

\* Dedication to Dissertation on Parties.

Exercise and Enjoyment of certain Powers and Pre-eminencies of Place, Office and Jurisdiction ; I don't see how either of the Parties can be absolved from the Obligations on their part, without some Breach, Failure or Forfeiture on the other : For even granting ( what cannot be pretended in the present Case ) that B had made a bad and disadvantageous Bargain ; yet this will neither cancel the Conditions to which he is bound, nor give him Right to demand of A, that he should alter the Terms, by making new Concessions, or entering into new Securities ; nor is A at all to blame for refusing to comply with any such Demand. All that B can reasonably expect is, that A should make good his Agreement ; and however uneasy he may be, or think himself a loser by it, he is nevertheless indispensibly obliged to observe it inviolably. Apply this now to the Case in hand, and you will see to what it will turn.

The Prince and his Ministers have stood fair to their Engagements, and observed inviolably the Conditions of their Agreement ; and the Majority of the Contractors, on the other side, are satisfied, and approve their Capacity and Fidelity both : But an inconsiderable Number ( from what Views we don't now examine ) are discontented and clamorous, and cry out for new Securities, and to have



have new Conditions added to the old ones; and those too such as would destroy the Nature of the Compact already stipulated, and cancel and disannul the whole: and for no other reason, but that they have taken it into their Heads, that their Circumstances would be bettered by a Change; for that they foresee (so great is their Foresight and Penetration) a Possibility, as the Terms now stand, that some future Prince or Minister may take it into their Thoughts, to use those Powers intrusted to them not for their Preservation, as they were intended, but to their Destruction. Sir, if such Pretences were allowed of sufficient Force to annul Compacts, and discharge the Obligations of Men, it would be impossible to make such as in any case would be binding; and I will take upon me to say, that all such Claims and Pretences are not only unreasonable, but dishonourable and undutiful.

In the present Argument, I will take no advantage of what (I nevertheless think concludes strongly against them, and ought to silence all their Complaints) that the Majority on their own Side have already condemned them, by repeated Approbations of the Measures of the Ministry; for I can easily see what Exceptions would be made to it. But I will call upon them, and defy

them to shew, how, in what Instances and Respects, the Compact has been violated or broken by the Prince or his Ministers: and till they do this palpably and plainly, and that in Matters of real Import and Consequence, I don't see how they can acquit themselves, to their Prince, their Country, or their own Consciences, for the part they have acted: For it will not avail to say, that though nothing of this kind can be proved now, and it is not the Case at present, ( as I think I could produce them acknowledging in above a hundred different Places ) yet that it may be the Case hereafter; for it is not what may be, but what actually is, and hath already been done, that can excuse or justify their Conduct.

A Point of this Importance cannot be too clearly decided, and therefore, if you will, we will apply the whole of what has been already offered, to a particular Instance. The Independency of Parliament is the favourite Point, with which they twit us at every turn, it runs through all their Motions, Protests, Speeches, and all those occasional Papers and Pamphlets, with which we are pestered in Town and Country; and if we can shew, that there neither is nor ought to be any such thing in our Constitution, then I shall be allowed to have put the Point beyond Contradiction,

dition, and to resume the Conclusion already made in our favour, that they who demand, and are for obtaining it, are Factious and Incendiaries.

The Independency \* argued for and demanded must be either Natural or Constitutional. Now, Sir, a natural one, it is confessed there can be none, for a very good Reason, because the whole Matter under Consideration is the Institution of Art: And a constitutional Independency I think to the full as absurd, because any thing that would deserve the Name, would entirely overthrow the Constitution; for it is to me as plain as that two and two make four, that as the Powers in our Legislature now stand, whatever would be gained on one hand, must be lost on the other; and such a new Addition of Power to the Parliament as would make it independent of the Crown, would be such a Diminution of the Rights and Powers of this, as would at least endanger the Balance falling to the Ground on one side by overweight, and the other of flying up and kicking the Beam. And the very best that could happen from it, would be to admit again that Absurdity, which cost so much Pains and Learning to confute, of *Imperium in Imperio*; which would be the more dangerous in

\* Dissertation on Parties, Let. XII.

this



this Case than in the other, as the Parliament is a much more formidable Antagonist than the Church. King and Parliament would not then form one Legislature, but two entirely distinct: And it is easy to see, once a Contest began, as it soon must, which would carry the Day, and till it could be decided, there could be nothing but a perpetual Struggle for Mastery and Superiority; because one Side has as good a Claim to Independency as the other, and there is no third to judge between them. The Thing is therefore incompatible with any proper Idea that you can form of our Constitution, because do but establish it once, and the whole would be destroyed: It would dissolve of itself into a Republick, and our King would be a mere mock Pageant of State, stalking about only to be stared at, with as little real Power as a Doge of *Venice*, and the Regalia, the mock Ensigns of Royalty, truly what *Cromwell* called them, *Mere Baubles!*

But supposing this Independency neither so dangerous nor absurd, suppose it as harmless and innocent as you will, I must still beg to be informed, what Title these Gentlemen have to demand it? and how will they justify their Claim? Is it at present a Part of our Constitution? if so, they have what they ask, and they are free to make use of it in what manner

manner they please: if not, let the Time be assigned, and give some Proof that ever it was so: When did it commence? Before the Revolution it will scarcely be alledged: Did it begin to subsist then? If so, where are the Laws, which establish and declare it? I can find no Traces, Evidences, or Indications, that any thing like it was ever talked of, or proposed, much less received and consented to at that Time. If therefore this be a Matter incapable of Proof, and yet the highest and strongest Proof is absolutely necessary, I think, if Men had either a proper Sense of Modesty or Duty, they would recede from such Demands, as carry in them the strongest Conviction of their want of both.

The Truth then is this, that by our Constitution the Parliament is, and ought to be, dependent upon the Crown, and the Crown reciprocally upon the Parliament; and neither of the three Parts of the Legislature have any Independency at all but what arises from (however great a Solecism it has been called) the Dependency of the others upon that; *i. e.* to say in Truth and Strictness neither are independent; for this Reason, that they are *Members one of another*, each having its distinct and appropriated Powers and Offices, so that one cannot say of or to the other, *I have no Need of Thee*, which is nevertheless  
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the only thing that could make either strictly or properly independent. There is therefore no Absurdity in saying, that A's Independency (understanding the Word in a confined and proper Sense) arises from the Dependency of B, and B's Independency from the Dependency of A. But the Absurdity is, in maintaining that there either is, or ought to be, any Independency (in the Sense pleaded for) at all. For both are dependent, and must be so, one on the other, or the Constitution would be destroyed, and the Form of Government break up, and be dissolved. If after all, the Gentlemen we are here answering should tell you in Reply, that by Independency they mean only a Power of exerting freely and fully all the distinct Powers and Privileges of Parliament without Awe or Controul from the Crown ; then I would answer, that there is no Controversy between us, because they already have it in as ample a Manner, and as strongly fenced in and secured, as any Man could wish, who sought or aimed at no more. But then I would also tell them, that they should explain their Meaning, and lead their Readers into the full Sense and Signification of their Words ; for whilst Men affect a loose and ambiguous Way of speaking, and express themselves in Terms which mark out no determinate Ideas, but  
may



may mean any thing that they have a Mind they should mean, without telling us what that is, there is Reason to suspect them of unfair Dealing, and that their Intention is not to explain, but only to puzzle, what they are about. However, I hope I have in some Measure supplied (as far as will be necessary to lead you into a right Understanding of the Point in Question) what they have omitted, and so I leave it for the present.

Upon the whole Matter, Sir, I have as utter an Abhorrence for that enormous Position, that most absurd of all Absurdities, of *The Many made for One*, as any one Man in the Opposition. I am for adhering stedfastly to the right old Revolution Principles; I argue upon them, and I act upon them: and yet you see how widely I differ from those, who have put in their Claim, for being the only sincere Assertors of the Principles of the Revolution. I therefore call upon you, and press you to consider, and judge impartially, which of our Claims is best founded: Mine? who am for preserving entire that Form of Government, which the Revolution left us; or Theirs? who are for leading us into the same or another like *Chaos* of Confusion, in which the Revolution found us; and whether the Principles upon which our Adversaries argue, deserve the Name of *Revolution-Principles*

*ciples* at all, in any proper Sense of those Terms: I say proper Sense, because I am sensible there is one, in which they justly deserve to be called so; as they are calculated to produce almost annual Revolutions, and to set all things into Disorder once a Year, for no other imaginable End, than to have that childish fantastical Pleasure, of mending and setting them again to Rights. For, to say the best that the most extensive Charity will allow, it is seemingly the same wanton fluctuating Humour which directs their Conduct, that I have observed in Children, who having finished their little Edifices, pull them down even before they have had Time to admire them, merely for the Pleasure of getting somewhat to do by building them anew; and therefore like Children should have Rattles and Baubles provided for them, to keep them from spending their Activity in *Mischief*.

Let not then, Sir, Sedition pass any longer upon you for Patriotism, nor let Zeal for the Public Good be a Cloke for the Deformity of a Monster, which lies concealed under it, the *Rage* of disappointed *Ambition*: Only give Things their proper Names, and the Danger of mistaking the Enemies of the Government for the Friends of the Constitution will be over. For all the Danger that  
threatens

threatens it now, is only from that Quarter, where Principles quite everfive of it, and Practices entirely *Tribunitious*, are cherished and espoused, and which even *Rome* could scarce ever endure nor ever consented to admit, till after repeated Struggles, and often driving the Constitution to the Brink of that ruinous Precipice into which it tumbled, and was swallowed up at last.

I have detained you the longer upon this Head, because it strikes at the Root of all our Evils, and seems to me the only effectual Method to destroy that poisonous Plant, which after so many Amputations, hath nevertheless still sprouted out such Variety of ill-favoured and ill-boding Shoots. But having finished this, I am now at Leisure to attend you through all those Objections you were pleased to urge at our Conference.

I have already hinted, that what betrays Men into the many false Judgments and unjust Resentments that are so rife among us, is the Number of scandalous Libels every Day published and dispersed through the Kingdom, wherein not only the greatest Zeal, but the utmost Artifice, is employed to set off the Pretences on one Side, and deride and ridicule the Reasons on which the Measures of the other proceed : It is, I say, one great Misfortune in this Case, that the principal Men in the Op-



position, those of them most distinguished for their Parts and Abilities, who we acknowledge want nothing but Truth, Temper, a good Cause, and good Manners, to recommend the Productions of their Pens, are the Persons employed in this base Trade; whilst they who are best qualified to answer them on the other, have neither Leisure nor Inclination to engage in Controversies of this Nature. Their Time is employed in the weighty Affairs of the State, in concerting and executing Measures, to make even those ungrateful Men happy in spite of all their Efforts to be miserable. As was said of King *Charles* the Second's Times, that it was the Reign of Proclamations, so we may say of this, that it is the Reign of Libels: Men ground Pretensions to Merit, on being scurrilous; and to Wit, on being petulant and faucy.

However, you have seen the Effects of their Opposition for a Series of many Years, wherein the same Measures have been successfully pursued by the Ministry; and to what have they amounted? The Ministry and its Friends have (as is usually the Case of honest and upright Men) trusted to the Justice of their Cause, as what they knew would in the Event still clear up and justify itself to the wise and considerate part of the Nation; and

and because Slander and Falshood seldom fail to confute themselves, have been content with listning to the Railing and Invectives thrown out against them, without hardly attempting or offering at a Reply. And pray, hath not the Event always answered their Expectations? What have the Gentlemen in the Opposition been able to do, by all the Dust they have raised, and the Dirt they have thrown about? Nothing truly, but to raise Fears, Jealousies, and Suspensions, in the Breasts of the weak and unwary, which nevertheless still vanish again and disappear; because there is no convincing Men that they are really in Danger till they feel themselves hurt, and they of course drop their Complaints, when they see they are groundless. But still the same Game must be played over again upon every new Occasion, some new Arts to blow up the Passions of the ignorant and unruly, some new Tricks to revive the sinking Spirits of the Party, and keep the *Faction* from breaking up and scattering.

The Argument here is perhaps stronger, Sir, than you may at first apprehend. Had there been any thing of Truth and Reality in those Pretences dress'd up, and held out so long; is it possible that a Majority in the Senate could still have been found to run in with the Measures of the Ministry? If the  
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Case were as it has been represented, that the Liberties of the Nation were quite lost by Oppression ; its Trade sunk and ruined ; the Prerogative every Day enlarging to a Degree, that threatned Slavery ; that Venality and Corruption swayed all Ranks, and directed all the Springs and Powers of the Political Machine ; that Fleets and Armies were maintained only to awe and intimidate the Nation disposed by the Pressures they groaned under, but for the Terror of such Controul, to revolt from their Allegiance : If these things and many others thrown in to swell up the Account were really so, as I find some folk willing to believe, without being able to give one good reason for their Faith, is it possible, that so great a Number of wise, powerful and opulent Men, whose Hereditary Fortunes exceed any thing they could ever hope for from the Favour of any Prince or Minister, who have given the World proof over and over, that the Privileges of *Englishmen* are dearer to them than any earthly Regards, and that they are incapable of bending to any Ends, or being swayed by any Motives, that are either base, unbecoming, or inconsistent with Honour and Uprightness, who are the Men in the Nation that must be the greatest Loosers by any such change in the Government, as these Measures are supposed to



to portend, could concur tamely to give themselves up to be the Tools, by which all this Misery and Mischief is to be wrought? Believe me, Sir, I sincerely think, and cannot conceive how you can avoid being of the same Opinion, that were either the Man or the Measures such as they are represented, the one had long since been blasted by Disappointment, and the other fallen a Sacrifice to the Fury of his Enemies. For to use the Words for once of one of the Faction,\* “There  
 “ have never been any Indications of a private Interest, that of any one Man ever  
 “ prevailing over that of the Nation, against  
 “ Fact, Reason and Justice : Have not the  
 “ Majority here constantly shewn the strongest  
 “ Conviction, that their Conduct was strictly conformable to the most disinterested  
 “ Love of their Country? Such a House of  
 “ Commons ought not to be, is not suspected.” If then this be the Case at present, if the present Parliament is made up of Men perfectly upright and disinterested, and it is impossible for a private Interest ever to prevail over that of the Nation, against Fact, Reason and Justice, then Fact, Reason and Justice are on the Side I have been defending ; and you ought to conclude That to be

\* L—t—n’s Speech on the Place-Bill.

the Reason why the Majority have always followed it, and this will direct you how to form your Judgment of Men, who by their own Confession are engaged in an Opposition to all the Three.

Fleets and Armies, Sir, are big-sounding Words, and mark out terrible Ideas: But though contradictory Propositions have been so often affirmed on this Subject, I am clearly in Opinion with such of them as tell us, “ \* That to destroy *British* Liberty with an “ Army of *Britons*, is not a Measure so sure “ of Success as some People believe.” Their Commanders, and they who serve in them, have as just Notions of the real Value of Liberty as any of us: They have all of them too somewhat to lose as well as we; and some of them have before now given such Grounds to suspect what their real Sense of such Matters is, as leaves little room to any Prince or Minister to imagine, that they should by them be able to Effect any Design, that would serve to establish Tyranny. I am confident most of them look upon their present Pay to be in no sort an Equivalent for what in such case they must lose; and few of them are the Fools, to quit the best Settlement in Reversion for a little in Hand,

\* Differt. on Parties. Letter X.

when the Consequence would be, that they must at the same time purchase Infamy to themselves, and entail Misery on their Posterity. But how monstrous and base all such Insinuations are, is evident to every Man who will coolly reflect, upon the Manners or Management of either; since we see in the one all the Traces and Tokens of a wise, watchful and faithful Servant; and in the other of a good and gracious Master; train'd up in the Principles of *Liberty*; his Mind formed to no Maxims of *Arbitrariness*; taught to believe that his *Security*, his *Happiness*, his *Glory*, all depend upon his ruling in the *Hearts* of his Subjects; who hath never yet claimed any *Prerogative* but what they were pleased to yield him by a free Consent; and in every Instance has hitherto demonstrated, that he looks upon the Rights of his Crown and the Privileges of his People as inseparable; and that they have never yet been distinguished in his Breast. If Men considered their Prince in this Character, which is truly his just one, he would appear to be the best Patriot, who was most allegiate; for where an Harmony so agreeable in itself, and so happy in its Consequences, subsists between the Disposition of the Prince and the Constitution of the State, all Opposition is Faction, Complaining Sedition, and

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Disaffection Ingratitude. And yet under all these Symptoms of Health, where Appearances are all so promising, so spleenatick and fanciful are some, as to imagine themselves troubled with a thousand Ills, and like People in the Vapours, perpetually pining and tormenting themselves with the Apprehensions of what can never possibly happen. I cannot therefore think that Foreigners have done us any Injustice, in specifying a certain Disorder by the Name of the *English* Malady, since it operates and shews itself even in our Politicks; and I must for this reason recommend it to an eminent Physician our Countryman, noted for his great Skill and Success in the Cure of such Disorders, to take the Case of these fanciful Gentlemen into Consideration; for if in the next Edition of his Book he can bring in as long a List of Cures performed upon them, as he gave us in the last, he will be intitled to an Address of Thanks from every Shire and Borough in the Kingdom, since he will have the Credit of doing that, which Reason, Religion, and all the lenient gentle Arts of the best political Regimen have not been able to perform. To take off any Fears the Gentlemen may have, that the Course they are to be put under is either dangerous or unpleasant, you may assure them, that I have been myself a Patient

Patient of the Doctor's for above six Years past, during the last half of which I have enjoyed greater Freedom of Spirits, and more Composure and Serenity of Thought than ever I was acquainted with before ; that I have got rid of all false Delicacy, and quite vanquished the Wantonness of my Appetite, and feel none of that melancholy Sourness and Dejection, which used formerly to make me fretful, querulous and uneasy. This, Sir, may perhaps carry with it an Air of Banter ; but you will construe it into Seriousness, if you will be at the Pains of a proper Application. For when you see Men quite drunken and intoxicated with the Fumes of Sensuality, of Liberty and Licentiousness, you will not imagine them to be in any other Danger, ( whatever they may say in the Ravings of their Fit ) than what may arise from the Surfeit of an over Dose ; nor however loud they are in their Demands for more, that they have any more real Occasion for it, than a Man really drunken has for more Liquor. I must therefore conclude with a Caution to the Doctor, to be upon his Guard in case any of them should come to him for Advice, not to mistake their Case ; for as they seem to be in the last and worst Stage of the Distemper, a Trimming Diet

will hardly recover them, and therefore a total Abstinence from those things which have plainly brought it upon them, will be found necessary.

To return where I was, (if you should call this a Digression,) I will grant that when Power is in such Hands as evidently make a bad Use of it, and abuse it to the Purposes of Mischief, it is allowable, nay, it is the Duty of good Men to remonstrate and complain : But a little Reflection on past Administrations, and how it has been managed in former Reigns, will satisfy any Man, who is not resolved against it, of the Equity and Mildness of the present. And that the supposed Abuses would not only be complained of, but multiplied and felt, if it were in the Hands of those whose Heads are so busy in meditating Means to produce a Change. For who are the Discontented and Complainants ? Jacobites and Republicans ; such only as the Want of Power could persuade to coalite : neither of them fit to be trusted with it, where Liberty and Monarchy have been brought to consist ; since one or the other must speedily be sacrificed, according as either should prevail, when they had once divided.

And



And against whom are they confederated ? Against his Majesty, in the Person of his Minister ; who seems to be marked out for the Object of popular Hatred, for no other Reason, but because he hath been able to stem the Torrent of a mischievous Faction, longer than any Man ever did, or perhaps ever will, to the Astonishment and Confusion of his own and his Majesty's Enemies. So true is it, what I remember my Lord *Bacon* somewhere says, " That Men of Worth and Merit are most envied when their Fortune continues long : " And then follows of course what an antient Author observes, *Conflata magna invidia, seu bene seu male gesta premunt*. But what thus raises the Indignation of the envious, is a Proof to me the strongest that can well be conceived, that all is Right and as it should be ; for were the Man's Abilities ever so great, (and great they all allow them to be whenever they are serious) or his Circumstances ever so favourable, had his Cause and his Conduct been as faulty and bad as they have been represented, he could never have stood his Ground against Enemies, so many, so watchful, and mighty. Men may fancy, and say whatever the Wildness of their Fancies suggest ; but after all, it is *Reputation* only that can support Power for any long Duration of Time : Without it,

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be the Elevation of a Man's State ever so high, he is but the more exposed to Thunder-claps and Storms, to the scorching of Envy, and in a nearer Disposition to tumble into Ruin from his slippery Place: Whereas such hath been the Fortune of the Man we speak of, that every Attack against his Person or Power, hath helped only to add Dignity to the one, and an Increase of Strength to the other, and to confirm him more and more in the Graces of his Master, and the Esteem of all good Men: And to give Grace to what I say by borrowing an Expression from himself, " Because he never entered in-  
 " to any Measures, that had not either the  
 " previous Sanction, or the Approbation of  
 " Parliament." His Enemies have now no Way left to work his Ruin or Disgrace, but by doing what some Historians report to have been done by Queen *Elizabeth*, when she had resolved to put her Rival Queen *Mary* to Death, to pass an Act of Parliament upon which to try her, which it would be impossible for her not to break and transgress: For as the Laws now stand, it would puzzle them even to draw up a Charge, much less to condemn him. Shut your Ears for a Moment against the Clamour of Malice, and hear him in his own Behalf. He will tell you, " That he has no Apology to offer for  
 " his

“ his Conduct, because it requires none; that  
 “ he is ready at all Times to give Satisfaction,  
 “ and will plead for no Favour, unless it shall  
 “ appear, that he has not made the Interest  
 “ of his Country the Foundation of his Con-  
 “ duct.” This, Sir, is not the Language of  
 Guilt, nor of a Mind stung with Remorse;  
 Conscience, which ever makes a Coward of  
 the Villain, raises his Courage, and supports  
 him, you see, unruffled in his Temper, and  
 invariable in his Conduct.

You design, I know, to offer yourself to  
 serve in Parliament for the Borough in which  
 you reside at the ensuing Election, and if  
 you bring with you that Candour and Probi-  
 ty which influence your general Conduct,  
 you will have my Wishes to succeed: for  
 though I should fail of convincing you now,  
 you will soon see Reason to alter your Senti-  
 ments when you come there. Probity, De-  
 cency, good Sense, plain Reason, open and  
 fair Dealing, will undoubtedly carry it with  
 you from Noise, Ribaldry, Declamation,  
 and Falshood. There the true Characters of  
 Men shew themselves, and Things appear in  
 their proper Colours, and you will soon deter-  
 mine that it must be a desperate Cause,  
 which is supported by personal Reflections  
 instead of Arguments, and forged Accusa-  
 tions



tions instead of Facts: \* You will not think that either the Cause, or the Character of those they are levelled at, can be prejudiced by a Charge, which is evictive either of shameless Impudence, or the weakest Folly in those, who give it in: Such things as they are, sometimes taken into account without Examination, have their intended Effect now and then with you in the Country, by the Manner they are set off in the weekly Entertainment sent down to you from those renowned Champions of Licentiousness, *Danvers* and *Fog*; but they have a quite different Effect in a *British* Parliament; they serve not to divide and take off the Friends of the Government, but to confirm and rivet their Union.

You see, that notwithstanding Men are big with Expectation, and conceive vast Hopes that every Session will take off from the Party, yet that still the contrary happens, and the Majority is on the encreasing Hand: Even Secessions cannot draw them off, and without pretending to a Spirit of Prophecy, I will take upon me to promise, that Matters will go on in the same Way in a new one; when nevertheless I doubt not, we shall have

\* See Mr. *P—t—y's*, and Sir *R—t W—l—t's* Speeches, on the Motion for an Address to have the Instructions sent to the Commanders of his Majesty's Fleets laid before the House.

all the same dull Cant about ministerial Influence and Corruption, and servile Dependency repeated, and the Danger the Nation is in echoed from every Quarter. But till this Danger is so great as to be really perceivable, these Outcries will all vanish into Air, as usual, without any Effect; for perceived they will never be, till the Gentlemen who raise them are strong enough to carry their Schemes into Execution; for to use the Words of an Author (of whom you often make honourable mention) \* “ However  
 “ these Gentlemen affect to express a mighty Concern at the Apprehensions of the  
 “ Calamity, which their Country is to be involved in from the bad Conduct of our  
 “ Governors, most of them would be less  
 “ melancholy if there was more Occasion.

One Article that raises their Melancholy, is the Burden of our Taxes; and to induce People to think that *Self* has no Share in their Complaints, it is uttered with a mournful Tone, “ That these are Grievances which  
 “ the People alone feel.” But pray, Sir, if Taxes be necessary, I would ask of you, who ought to feel them? There is none other that I know of, unless it will be said,

\* Examiner, N<sup>o</sup>. 13.

that the Provision made for the Maintenance of the Royal Family should bear a Part ; and in truth I suspect there is no less meant. Why else upon every mention of such Grievances, are we always told of what a noble Support his Majesty enjoys, beyond what any of his Predecessors had ? and what can this proceed from, but a latent Grudge and Disaffection to his Person and Government ? Were either held in that Respect they sometimes pretend, it would be always matter of Joy to them, to see him supported in such a Way as to put him upon a Rank with the greatest Princes his Cotemporaries, and enable him to make that Figure in *Europe*, which a Monarch of *England* is at all Times entituled to.

If these Gentlemen are right in their Computations, which I will take for granted for the present, the neat Revenue of the Crown amounts at this Time to 800000 Pounds, or thereabouts ; and the great Objection on this Account is, that his Majesty is no way accountable to the Publick for his Disbursements of any Part of it. But is it not unaccountable that Men should cavil at a Circumstance, which the meanest Freeholder in *Britain* claims as his indisputable Right and Privilege ; *viz.* of appropriating the annual Revenues of his Estate to what Uses he pleases ;



ses ; and in the next Place, they must be extremely ignorant, or wilfully blind, which is the likelier of the two, who cannot see, that in the manner the Crown now enjoys its Revenue, its Influence (if a pecuniary one is all that is to be dreaded) must rather be diminished than augmented. For though the King is not answerable to the Publick for any Part of what is thus appropriated by Parliament to the Maintenance of his Household ; yet he is for every Farthing of any other Tax laid on the Kingdom, which must go to the Uses specified and ascertained by Parliament ; whereas in former Reigns it was quite otherwise. At the Abdication of King *James*, the neat Revenue of the Crown was above two Millions, and all that could be said to justify the intrusting him with so great a Sum was, that he was to pay his Fleets and Armies himself. But what then ? Did he or his Brother before him ever do so ? No : They chose rather to want Fleets, and be insulted by their Neighbours, than part with what their own Vices raised such Demands for in private ; and whenever Necessity obliged them to equip Fleets, they had Recourse to their Parliament for extraordinary Aids, who seldom refused to comply with their Demands : And thus this immense Revenue was consumed.

without any thing done by it, or for it ; and when a new Case occurred, they had the same Recourse with the same Success, without the Trouble of ever making an Account, for which they had always evasive Shifts and Excuses at hand. From whence it would appear, at least to my Understanding, that neither the Means of corrupting, nor the Facility of employing those Means, are encreased ; unless it may be said that a Revenue of 800000 Pounds is capable of being applied so, as to do more in that Way, than One of two Millions : For though it should be made appear, that our present annual Taxes amounted to more than double that Sum, yet as the Funds out of which it arises are all appropriated by Parliament to particular Uses, and that the Crown is not intrusted with the Disbursement of it, but it is annually accounted for with the Publick, I do not see how it can advance the Power or Influence of the Crown. All that the Crown can dispose of in this Way, must be out of its own annual Savings, which must be very extraordinary to answer the Charge both of annual and septennial Corruption. The Power of the Crown therefore, in the Way its Revenue is now settled, is not, in my Apprehension, nigh so formidable as it was before this Settlement

was

was made, when it was intrusted with the Management of a much greater Sum, and in a great measure at Liberty how to dispose of it, without the Hazard of being at any time called to an Account, which they easily found Methods to shuffle over and evade whenever it was attempted.

Gentlemen talk as if the Weight of Taxes had never been felt in this Kingdom before ; but if they will look back, and compare Things and Circumstances carefully, they will find Instances, where all things considered, they have been to the full as heavy as they are at present, when the Enemies of the State were neither so formidable, nor in so flourishing a Condition, and when they should have been counted more intolerable, because misapplied to Purposes for which they were never given nor intended. Whatever our present Taxes are, we see our Fleets and Armies, for which those Taxes were voted, all ready and in good Order to go, upon any Enterprize or Command, that shall be thought necessary for the Vindication of the Nation's Honour and Rights.

But we are told with an insolent Sneer,  
 “ That these Armies remain idle Spectacles  
 “ on the Land, and our Fleets a useless  
 “ Incumbrance upon the Ocean.” Sir, it is  
 impossible ;



impossible ; and I will not imagine that you can want Arguments to convince you of the glaring Injustice of such Reflections, the contrary whereof is so evident to every Man that has Eyes in his Head. That every thing has been done that could be done ; our Trade protected, our Garrisons defended, our Country secured from foreign Invasions, and our Enemies weakned, impoverished, harassed to a Degree, that will soon reduce them to a Necessity of offering all that we can ask, or ought to demand : In short, every thing conspiring to give the highest Assurance of our obtaining either immediate Reparation, or Revenge. But unless we can have Fleets that can sail against the Wind, and Armies to embark by long Strides, a-croß an Ocean ; unless our Monarch turn Knight-Errant, cut Canals through Mountains, and make Bridges over the Sea, wage War with all *Europe*, and perform such Exploits, as even the finest Hero in a *French* Romance never dreamt of ; nothing is done, and some folk are not to be pleased, to whom Reparation is no Satisfaction, and whose Vengeance is never to be appeased, but by the joint Effusion of their Enemies and Fellow-Countrymen's Blood.

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The high Flights of these martial Orators ( as they are called by him, who will pass for the Standard of *British* Eloquence ) put me in mind of a Passage I have somewhere read or heard, of a renowned *French* Hero, known among his Countrymen by the Name of *l'Homme Sans Peur*. This valorous Man happening once to be present at the Anniversary of our Saviour's Passion, when the Preacher, exaggerating and aggravating the Circumstances of the Transactions of that day, had his Passions so touched, that in a Transport of Rage, starting from his Seat, he clapped his Hand upon his Sword, and cried out aloud, *O ! Monsieur Grillon !* ( for that was his Name ) *où Etois vous en ce tems Là !* Where were you then ? He imagined, no doubt, that by the invincible Prowess of his single Arm, he could have vanquished *Pilate's* Guards, and destroyed the whole Race of the *Jews*. Just so, our rhetorical Vaunters, talk as if they were cut out for the Conquest of the Universe, and were the Men of whom it was prophetically said, *That five of them should chase an hundred, and an hundred put ten thousand to flight.*

It is an expiring Spark of this National Pride, that prompts some, whose Counsels should have the Temper which suits the  
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Feebleness of their Age, to stand up with a supercilious Haughtiness, and tell us, " That " we have negotiated ourselves out of all Reputation." But in answer to such, let us only consult the allowed Maxims of human Reason, and the uncontested Principles of Equity, and see if it is not the commanding Voice of both, that in all cases where Injury is offered, the Methods of Treaty and Negotiation should first take place; and whether War can at any time be lawful or justifiable, till these Expedients have failed and proved ineffectual. Divines and Civilians are all unanimous in the Point; and the Consequences of a contrary Conduct are all so shocking and frightful, that I could scarce think any but Soldiers of Fortune could give into them. We are not, I hope, in that way of thinking, as to say all things belong to the Valiant, and that we carry our Right upon the Point of our Swords. Is it of no Advantage, no Consideration, to have a just and justifiable Cause? Is no Regard to be had to the Obligations of Equity, and is Providence to be quite thrown out of the Question? Is it never necessary to be apprized of the true State of Things on all Hands, to know when, and how far we ought to go and can go, and where and when we ought to



to stop? Are we never to sit down and compute, whether a Man with ten thousand be able to go to War with him that cometh against him with twenty thousand? Are Circumstances, Junctures, Occasions, Opportunities, never to be sought, nor waited for, nor examined? Is Resolution to precede Counsel, and Execution to go before either? Go over these things in your own Thoughts, and weigh them impartially; consider what was the State of the several Powers in *Europe*, at the Time this War was most warmly pressed upon the Government; the low depressed State of some, and the powerful flourishing Estate of their Rivals; some weakned by a long successful War, and others triumphing in the accumulated Treasures and Acquisitions of a prosperous Trade extended by Peace; the Treaties and Engagements they were mutually tied up to; the Disposition and Strength of those from whom only Aid could be expected; what has passed since; what has been done on our own Parts, and others, and you will be convinced, that no Service has been neglected, nor any thing left undone which could be done, and would have been either

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proper,

proper, or safe, or becoming; that could either contribute to the Ease and Safety of the Nation at home, its Honour or its Trade abroad, or the Annoyance and Distress of our Enemies.

I will maintain it, Sir, as a Principle of Truth and Equity against all the Journalists, Craftsmen, and Retailers of Common Sense in *Britain*, that what we only want and ought to demand or expect by this War is *Reparation*, and not Revenge; and if we have not obtained that as soon, and in as ample manner as might be wished or desired, I can tell you to what to impute it, and how to develop the true Ground of this Misfortune. It is neither, Sir, to the Blundering or Bungling, or Inactivity or Cowardice, (as it has been insolently said) or any other Fault in the Measures and Management of our Governors, nor to the natural Courage or Prowess, or the wiser Counsels of our Enemies: But to the ill-timed, indiscreet, ungrateful, and I think traiterous Opposition of pretended Friends and sham Patriots at home, that you are to impute it. If our Reputation hath suffered any Diminution, our Glory any Eclipse, it is only from the Clouds of  
this

this intestine Storm; nor could any other Cause have raised the Courage and Demands of Enemies, who, however weak and contemptible they may appear to us, do yet know how to make Advantage of our Divisions: For whilst they are buoy'd up and supported by Promises of Aid from a neighbouring Power, they are encouraged to stand out by the Efforts of an unruly Faction here, whom they see labouring not only to embarrass our Counsels, but to cut out sufficient Work for our Armies and Fleets at home, without sending them abroad. It is therefore proper that Men should know, at least be told, whose Interest it is they have been really serving by their Opposition; and that if they are sincere in their Professions to serve their Country, they would shew it by a chearful Concurrence with those wise and just Measures, which his Majesty hath resolved upon, with the Advice of his Council, and the Approbation of his Parliament, for their common Benefit and Preservation: For had not the Venom and Rancour of the malignant disaffected Few displayed itself so unseasonably; had we been united in Counsels as in Arms,



our Fleets and Armies would have had much less to do, than it is even pretended they have done; and all that Expence of Treasure (so much complained of) and Blood that is now likely to follow it, might have been saved to the Nation.

Affert then at last the Dignity of your own Reason, and retrieve it from the Usurpations of Prepossession and Prejudice. Let neither the insolent Effrontery of one, the incoherent Pertness of another, the Arch-Gibes of a third, much less the frothy Jingle of a fourth, ever persuade you to give up your Senses so far, as to believe that they who are the main Props and Pillars of our Constitution, are employed to sap and undermine it.

Let them chime and ring on their annual Changes on those thread-bare Topics, Contracts, Conventions and Excises, since we have lived to see the last justified upon cool Thought, even by those whose unruly Heat would not allow them to examine the Scheme or give it a Hearing, and condemned now that it is over, only by such as have the Candour at no Time to acknowledge they were mistaken:

staken : and for the first, there are those among us yet living, who know and testify, that the Censure passed upon it, was only the Jobb of a Faction, which gave Rise, Being, and Efficacy, to a *Treaty* more infamous, and more injurious to the Glory and Interests of the Nation, than this and all the succeeding Treaties and Conventions of the following and present Reign. From all which this Consequence is so glaring as to stare every Man full in the Face, that Men are hard pinched and sore put to, to make up an Accusation, who can find no other Articles to ground it upon, but such as revive the forgotten Instances of their own Baseness, and bring to our Memory Facts, that every Man who is the Friend of his Country would wish were blotted out of its Annals.

In fine, Whatever Factious may suggest, let the Friends of the Government, who you by this Time see are the only Friends of the Constitution, beware of all such groundless and fanciful Distinctions as are employed to amuse and deceive them : Let them support with Spirit and Perseverance the joint Cause of their King and Country, and cautiously

ously mark such as cause Divisions, and thereby endanger the Peace and Preservation of Both. Thus we shall triumph over all Opposition, and though the Faction should not be reclaimed, it will yet be subdued and kept under.

They who want Honesty to own their Conviction, and Arguments to answer what has been written, will call many Things I have said, the Language of a Flatterer and Court-Dependent; but you, who know me, will acquit me of any sinister or indirect Aim. You will believe me sincere, even though I should appear mistaken. You know I have neither Post, Pension, or Employment, under the Crown; and I will tell you, what you could not know without my Information, that I have not so much as the most distant Expectation or Hopes of either. I live exempt from the Influence of every Regard except those of Virtue and Religion: I speak the Sentiments of one who enjoys all the Sweetness of Liberty in as wide an Extent as any virtuous Man would desire, and have nothing in my Intention but the Vindication of his Majesty's Government, which is the Cause of Virtue and Truth:

Guided



Guided by no false Maxims or Prejudices, and incapable of prostituting my Pen or Parts, to Purposes either base or dishonourable: But taking my Judgment from what I see, hear, read, and feel, and asserting nothing but what every Man, with the same Degree of unbiassed Candour and Uprightness may be convinced of as well as I.

*I am, Sir, &c.*

***F I N I S.***

Guided by the spirit of the law  
and the principles of justice  
I have to this day  
remained true to my  
principles: for I have  
seen what I have seen  
and feeling as I do  
I have with the  
best of intentions  
convinced of the

W. H. L.

